

2-4827

14 Jan 1952

**Columbia University**  
**in the City of New York**

NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

PROVOST OF THE UNIVERSITY

*Card returned  
14 Jan authorizing  
and as sponsor  
Dr Shotwell*

January 2, 1952

Mr. Allen W. Dulles  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D. C.

*Allen*  
Dear Mr. Dulles:

For over thirty years Professor James T. Shotwell of this university and of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has provided imaginative and realistic leadership in behalf of peace. He richly deserves the Nobel Peace Award. I am therefore organizing a group of distinguished persons to nominate him. A formal nomination, addressed to the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament is required. Our communication must be in Oslo before the end of January.

I enclose for your confidential information, a draft of the letter and accompanying Aide Memoire reviewing Dr. Shotwell's varied and important services to peace. If you are willing for your name to be listed alphabetically under the chairman's signature at the end of the letter as a member of the sponsoring committee, please send your authorization to me by wire or air mail at 202 Low Library, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Members of the committee to date include: The Honorable Arthur A. Ballantine, President Everett Case of Colgate, Mr. Norman Cousins, the editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, The Honorable John W. Davis, President John S. Dickey of Dartmouth, General William J. Donovan, Senator J. William Fulbright, Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, Dr. Bryn J. Hovde of the University of Wisconsin, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, General David Sarnoff, Mrs. Harper Sibley, Mrs. William Dick Spurburg, President Robert Sproul of the University of California, Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, The Honorable Charles P. Taft, Dr. Walter Van Kirk of the National Council of Churches, Mr. Thomas J. Watson, and The Honorable Summer Welles.

Many months must necessarily elapse before the next list of Nobel Awards is announced; therefore you will wish to retain these enclosures in your confidential files.

Sincerely,

*Grayson*

Grayson Kirk

Vice President and Provost

*2001/S*

**Columbia University**  
**in the City of New York**

NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

PROVOST OF THE UNIVERSITY

January 2, 1952

The Nobel Committee  
of the Norwegian Parliament  
Oslo, Norway

Dear Sirs:

We deem it a privilege and honor to support the nomination of James Thomson Shotwell, an American citizen of Canadian birth, for the Nobel Peace Prize. We present Dr. Shotwell's name for your consideration out of our deep conviction that he is one of those benefactors of mankind who, in the words of Alfred Nobel's will, "has done the most and best work for fraternity among nations."

No living person has worked longer or more consistently in behalf of the human community and a world at peace. Few have had greater impact on American thought as it concerns the problems of a workable peace. No private American citizen has been more effective in preparing his countrymen and his government for recognizing their responsibilities towards world organization and for full participation inside the United Nations.

We recognize in him a magnificent and inspiring consistency between his personal life and his teachings; between his concern for the individuality of man apart from national or racial identification, and his dedicated service to human welfare; between his specialized knowledge as political scientist-historian and his active efforts in behalf of clearly defined principles. In short, we see in him an impressive demonstration of the Whole Man, whose integration is built upon a solid foundation of moral values. He is a scholar who has broken down the walls of compartmentalization that bedevil modern man, and, in so doing, has made a virtual science out of the interrelationships of his interests, his philosophy, his thought, his action.

Some of the undersigned have studied under Professor Shotwell and have chosen our careers largely because of the power of his teaching and the inspiration of his example. Others of us have been associated with him in national or international committees or organizations concerned with the problems of human welfare and world peace. All of us have been deeply influenced by his wide-ranging but carefully integrated activities as a public servant of the world.

- 2 -

Dr. Shotwell's activities span more than half a century of effective action. They include the fields of government, education, publishing, civic welfare, labor, trade and the use of mass media in influencing public opinion. In almost any single one of these fields, his achievements would entitle him to the recognition and esteem of his fellow human beings everywhere. The sum total of these achievements, we believe, clearly qualifies him for the world's highest designated recognition -- the Nobel Peace Prize.

Because of the length and diversity of the working record of Dr. Shotwell's career, an "Aide Memoire" is attached covering eight important categories of his service in the cause of workable peace.

This service began at the Paris Peace Conference at the close of World War I. The most important and significant of his numerous activities there was the successful negotiation of the insertion in the Treaty of Versailles of the sections providing for the International Labor Organization -- today the most important surviving element of that Treaty. In subsequent years he worked effectively on both the Protocol of Geneva -- the highwater mark in the history of the League of Nations -- and on the basic preparation for the Treaties of Locarno.

In the United States, during the two decades between world wars, Dr. Shotwell worked with unremitting energy to correct what he considered to be one of the greatest tragedies in contemporary history, namely, the failure of his country to join the League of Nations. No man was closer to the Wilsonian ideals than he; no man fought harder to obtain American adherence to the League Covenant. He sensed the basic trouble -- a lack of public understanding and sanction among the rank and file of the American people.

In the years following America's failure to join the League, Dr. Shotwell devoted major time and attention to the development of citizen understanding of American responsibility as a member of the family of nations. Little by little, a new conditioning in American public opinion began to manifest itself. His advocacy of cooperation by the United States with the League of Nations, even while remaining outside it, won support in Congress, and he had the satisfaction of seeing it join the International Labor Organization. When the challenge to the American people came in 1945 to join the United Nations, the long years of Dr. Shotwell's teaching and lecturing and writing and leadership turned out to have been both dedicated and fruitful.

- 3 -

For years a member of the Executive Committee of the American League of Nations Association, he was President of it from 1935 to 1939. He organized as its research affiliate the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. He headed this committee of one hundred experts. When in February, 1945, the League of Nations Association developed into the American Association for the United Nations, it was logical that Dr. Shotwell should be Honorary President, for the transition represented the fulfillment of twenty-five years of unremitting effort.

In the period between the two world wars, Dr. Shotwell also played an important part in the effort to check the nationalist reaction toward autarchy which was blocking international trade. He was instrumental in laying the basis for international economic action in Austria, by the League of Nations which had already established the financial controls. Working closely with the International Chamber of Commerce, at Paris and Berlin, he organized and led The Committee on International Economic Policy which prepared far-reaching studies on trade and commerce, as a fundamental basis for world peace.

The wide scope of Dr. Shotwell's activities in international economics is reflected in his association and consultation with such widely diverse organizations in the U. S. A. as the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Farm Bureau Federation and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Leaders in business, labor, education, women's organizations and other civic groups came to regard Dr. Shotwell as the intellectual and moral leader of the peace forces in the United States. The American Secretary of State drafted him for service on five committees during World War II which were working on various aspects of the projected post-war organization for peace.

It was both logical and appropriate therefore that at the United Nations Charter Conference in San Francisco Dr. Shotwell should head The Consultants -- representatives of 42 national groups who had come together in what was virtually a mobilization of citizen interest in the cause of world peace through world organization. The citizen delegation under Dr. Shotwell figured prominently in the emphasis on human welfare reflected by the United Nations Charter. In particular, the Declaration of Human Rights was largely an outgrowth of Dr. Shotwell's leadership.

- 4 -

For twenty-four years (1924-1948), Dr. Shotwell's chief official relationship was that of Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. For two years he was its President (1948-1950) and is now President Emeritus.

It was under the auspices of the Endowment that Professor Shotwell undertook perhaps the most monumental study of its kind in English literature -- the 150-volume ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE (FIRST) WORLD WAR, of which he was editor, presiding over an organization which enlisted 200 collaborators. The central point emerging from the study was that modern man could no longer afford war, since war itself could no longer be regarded as a controllable agency of national policy. On the completion of this work, Dr. Shotwell planned and edited for the Carnegie Endowment the multi-volume series, "The Paris Peace Conference History and Documents."

In his study of peaceful relations between nations, Dr. Shotwell planned and edited the 25-volume survey of Canadian-American Relations. Himself a product of both countries, Dr. Shotwell felt that the friendly relations of the United States and Canada held lessons of deep import for all nations, inside and outside the Americas.

Dr. Shotwell's influence throughout more than thirty years of public life is largely due to the fact that he has approached his problems with the objectivity of a scholar and dealt with them with the realism of a man of affairs. His students are numbered in the thousands. The fields of his interest have reached out to Asia through the Institute of Pacific Relations and to other areas of the world through the Social Science Research Council. For both of these institutions he was Director of their Divisions of International Relations. In America his influence has been chiefly due to the fact that he believed in a working partnership between democratic government and its people in the creation and operation of any basic policy -- domestic or foreign.

Dr. Shotwell's ability to use the facilities of mass communications in behalf of world peace was dramatized in successive series of radio programs over coast to coast networks in the United States. Many of these programs served to educate the participants as well as the public.

Dr. Shotwell was one of the first scholars and is today one of a very few who have been able to adapt their thought processes and techniques to the quick tempo of the motion picture which combines the multiple sensory appeals of motion, color, words and music in the recreating of life situations on film. One of the most effective informational efforts designed

- 5 -

to prepare American public opinion for support of the United Nations was WATCH TOWER OVER TOMORROW, a documentary produced in Hollywood at the suggestion of the U. S. Department of State with Dr. Shotwell as working consultant.

A quick glance at the list of Dr. Shotwell's addresses and lectures (Chapter "G" of the Aide Memoire) reveals the breadth of his influence, the quality of the audiences he addressed, and his constant emphasis upon peace founded on social and economic justice. Probably his most important single public utterance was his opening lecture as visiting professor at the Hochschule fur Politik in Berlin in 1927. On this occasion, in the presence of members of the German Cabinet and General Staff he used the findings of the 150 volume economic and social history of the first world war to refute the previously accepted thesis of Clausewitz and Bismarck by pointing out that war between great nations in this age of mass production and of mass communications is uncontrollable, hence no longer a practical instrument of national policy. The ruins of Berlin and of the Ruhr furnish eloquent testimony of the accuracy of Dr. Shotwell's analysis of the nature of modern war.

Finally, as to Professor Shotwell's writings, there is appended a bibliography (Chapter "H" of the Aide Memoire), listing 17 volumes written by him, 230 volumes edited by him, with another 200 miscellaneous pamphlets, lectures and documents bearing his name. The bibliography lists over 400 titles from the prolific pen of this scholarly professor and down-to-earth realist who, through all his work with the great figures of the past half century on the supreme problem of our life and time, has never forgotten the townsfolk of the Canadian town where he was born and reared.

Painstaking research and precision of statement symbolize Shotwell the scholar. Boldness and an imaginative approach typify Shotwell the historian. Simplicity and deep humility mark Shotwell the man.

In the final analysis we believe the true greatness of James T. Shotwell resides in his human qualities, in his respect for life, in his ennobled compassion, in his capacity to be inspired by the human procession, in his confidence in mankind's ultimate achievement of human dignity, in his acts of faith.

Dr. Shotwell's most recent public statement is an article entitled THE FAITH OF AN HISTORIAN which appeared in the Christmas 1951 issue of the Saturday Review of Literature (Vol. XXXIV, No. 52, Dec. 29, 1951, New York). In it he writes:

- 6 -

"In these last few years we have left Newton's solid universe almost as far behind as that of Ptolemy, and the tracers that have replaced the microscope have only just begun the exploration of the solar system of the atom. Knowledge has become a temporary lodging place in a mysterious universe, which we shall never wholly understand. But the mystery is now a challenge to advance, not an impediment. The obstacles are only stepping stones along the way.

"...Never has war and the threat of it more dominated human affairs the world over than in these last years. But in the perspective of history this tragic era presents another aspect than that of helpless involvement in an ever mounting danger. For that very danger has for the first time made the problem of peace the supreme issue of politics. The fact that the solution has not yet been found, or at least not accepted, should not blind one to the epochal fact that never before our time was peace as such, as against war as such, considered by practical statesmen or by realistic nations as a political possibility.

"...The instrument to hold the divided world to this dual ideal of peace and justice is at hand in the United Nations. Its inadequacies are apparent, but still more apparent is the need for it. Even its failures clarify its problems. They should be a challenge to courage, not a source of disillusionment."

This sense of affirmation based on knowledge, on man's capacity to move forward and on faith in a God-centered universe is also reflected in a poem entitled THE WAY, written by Dr. Shotwell for the Saturday Review of Literature in March, 1950. This poem, copy of which is attached to the Aide Memoire as an exhibit, reveals the spirit and soul of the man. With the following quotation from it we close:

"The past is more than prologue to the drama of human fate,  
The ice-age minds are with us still, with their iron claws of hate,  
But the sword of the Lord and Gideon their forces can withstand  
Until we build Jerusalem in every pleasant land.  
For, rising through sorrow and suffering, the central theme grows clear,  
Welding peace and justice, freedom from want and fear.

- 7 -

The Key to the plot was given on a sunlit mount by a sea  
The only guidance the world has yet to make men safe and free.  
Not to Caesar alone we turn to meet the threat of war,  
His militant sceptre cannot reach where the springs of action are;  
But the mind that has ranged the universe must now itself control,  
For the force in the mighty atom is less than the human soul;  
And simpler than any equation are the words forever true:  
Do ye unto others as ye would they do by you."

Respectfully submitted,

---

Chairman

and the following committee of Sponsors, each of whom is serving in an individual capacity. (Official, professional, and other present or former titles where listed, are for the information of the Nobel Committee.)

Names:

---

---

---

---

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

-----

### Curriculum Vitae

#### A. SERVICES TO PEACE THROUGH OFFICIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH GOVERNMENTS

##### I. Dr. Shotwell's Participation at the Paris Peace Conference, 1918-1919.

- (1) In the organization of the Inquiry.
- (2) As Head of the Division of History in the American Delegation to Negotiate Peace.
- (3) As Member of International Labor Commission.
- (4) As Member of Organizing Committee for Washington International Labor Conference.
- (5) As Author and negotiator of Article 312 of the Treaty of Versailles, which protected the social security of the inhabitants of the German-ceded areas.

##### II. Work on European Peace Plans

- (1) His relationship to the Cuno Peace Offer, 1922.
- (2) His contribution to the Protocol of Geneva, (1923-1924)
- (3) His contribution to the Treaties of Locarno (1923).
- (4) His Draft Memorandum for the Disarmament Conference.
- (5) Briand-Kellogg Pact (1928) originally based on Dr. Shotwell's conclusions as General Editor of the ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE (first) WORLD WAR.
- (6) Harmonization of the Pact of Paris and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

##### III. Dr. Shotwell's Services During World War II for the U. S. Department of State

- (1) As Member of the Committee on International Organization.
- (2) As Member of the Judicial Committee on the World Court.
- (3) As Member of the Committee on Security.
- (4) As Member of Liaison Committee with Congress.
- (5) As Member of Committee on Cultural Relations.

##### IV. His Contribution to the Success of the United Nations Charter Conference in San Francisco (1945)

- (1) As Chairman of the Consultants.
- (2) As Chairman of a sub-committee of the Consultants on Economic and Social Questions.
- (3) As Member of a Committee on Education.
- (4) As Consultant on Trusteeship.
- (5) As Member of a Committee on Human Rights.

B. SERVICES TO PEACE THROUGH ATTEMPTS TO REMOVE BARRIERS TO TRADE

- I. Dr. Shotwell's initiative on the Rist Report, a basis for the League of Nations Economic Recovery Program for Austria.
- II. Dr. Shotwell's Efforts on behalf of the Conference of Porto Rose (1921).
- III. As member of Columbia University Interallied War Debt Committee.
- IV. Services at Paris Conference of 1936 sponsored by the International Chamber of Commerce and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- V. Services in Connection with the Committee on International Economic Policy.
- VI. As Consultant to National Organizations in Commerce, Industry, Labor and Agriculture.

C. SERVICES TO PEACE THROUGH THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

- I. General Editor, 150 Volume "ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE (first) WORLD WAR."
- II. Editor of the series entitled "THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE HISTORY AND DOCUMENTS."
- III. Director and Editor of the 25 Volume Survey of Canadian-American Relations.
- IV. Work With Latin-American Countries.
- V. Carnegie Endowment Committee on Atomic Energy.
- VI. Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

D. SERVICES TO PEACE THROUGH OTHER INSTITUTIONAL CHANNELS

- I. Through his teaching at Columbia University.
- II. Through the Organization on International Intellectual Cooperation.
- III. Through the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Social Science Research Council.
- IV. Through Organizations of Historians.
- V. Through the Union of Learned Academies.

E. HIS WORK WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS FOR MOBILIZING PUBLIC OPINION

- I. As a Trustee and President of the League of Nations Association U. S. A. and Hon. President of the American Association of the United Nations.
- II. As Chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace (1939-1950)
- III. As member of the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts.

F. HIS SERVICES THROUGH MOTION PICTURES AND RADIO

- I. Through Motion Pictures
  - (1) Exhibit of United States Documentaries at Paris World's Fair, 1937.
  - (2) As Historical Consultant for LAND OF LIBERTY.
  - (3) As Author of Commentary for MADE IN THE U. S. A.
  - (4) As Consultant in Production of the WATCH OVER TOMORROW.
- II. Through Radio Broadcasting.

G. HIS SERVICES THROUGH ADDRESSES AND LECTURES ON WAR AND PEACE

- I. Addresses and Lectures before Academies and Learned Societies.
- II. Addresses and Lectures at Colleges and Universities.
- III. Addresses and Lectures before Institutes and Organizations Concerned with International Affairs.

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. Books Written.
- II. Books Edited.
- III. Miscellaneous Writings.

A I D E M E M O I R E

JAMES THOMSON SHOTWELL'S SERVICES TO PEACE

JAMES THOMSON SHOTWELL

CURRICULUM VITAE

Born Strathroy, Ontario, Canada, August 6, 1874; educated public grammar and high schools, Strathroy; Toronto University, B. A., 1898; Ph.D. Columbia University, 1903; married Margaret Harvey, 1901; children, Margaret Grace Summers and Helen Harvey Shotwell.

Academic Career

Columbia University, Lecturer in History, 1900-1905; adjunct Professor, 1905-1908; Professor of History, 1908-1937; Bryce Professor of the History of International Relations, 1937-1942; Bryce Professor Emeritus, 1942-

Honorary degrees: LL. D., Columbia University, 1929, and from the following: University of Western Ontario, 1922; Dartmouth College, 1926; Toronto University, 1926; McGill University, 1927; University of Budapest, Hungary, 1935; Queen's University (Toronto), 1937; Johns Hopkins University, 1939; degree of L.H.D., St. Lawrence University, 1940; Sc.S et P., Universite de Montreal, 1941; and L.H.D., University of Maine, 1945.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

General Editor, Economic and Social History of the (First) World War, 1919-1927; Carnegie Endowment Professor of International Relations, Hochschule Fur Politik, Berlin, 1927; Director of the Division of Economics and History, and Trustee, 1924-1948; President, 1948-1950; President Emeritus, 1950 -

Other Institutions, National and International

National Board for Historical Service, (Washington) Chairman, 1917.

American Delegation to Negotiate Peace at the Paris Peace Conference; Chief of the Division of History, 1918-1919.

Organization for International Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations; Member and Chairman of the American National Committee, 1932-1943.

Social Science Research Council; Director of the Division of International Relations, 1931-1933.

Curriculum Vitae

Institute of Pacific Relations, Director of Research in International Relations, 1927-1930.

Union Academique Internationale, American representative, 1919-1923.

Academie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, at des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 1929.

Polish Academy of Arts and Letters, 1934

American Philosophical Society, 1936

Fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences, American President, 1923

National Institute of the Social Sciences, Gold Medal, 1927.

(For other institutions, see below)

Decorations:

Commander, Order of the Crown, Belgium, 1919

Commander, Order of the Saviour, Greece, 1925

Commander, Order of St. Sava, Yugoslavia, 1925

Officier, Legion d'Honneur, France, 1927

Commander, Order of the White Lion, Czechoslovakia, 1927

Commander, Legion d'Honneur, France, 1946

AIDE MEMOIRE

PROFESSOR JAMES T. SHOTWELL'S SERVICES TO PEACE

A.

SERVICES TO PEACE THROUGH OFFICIAL  
RELATIONSHIPS WITH GOVERNMENTS

Dr. Shotwell's services to peace have included both work with the Government of the United States and also with the leading statesmen of Europe. This work began with his appointment by President Wilson to the American Delegation to negotiate peace at Paris, 1918-1919. After the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles by the American Senate Dr. Shotwell's efforts had the two-fold aim of strengthening policies of pacification in Europe and of reversing American isolationist policies through formulation of a program of cooperation with Geneva, especially on such matters as disarmament.

With the outbreak of World War II Dr. Shotwell was again called to serve by United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull and worked on the commission which drafted the blueprints for the United Nations and for the World Court. At the United Nations Charter Conference in San Francisco he was chairman of The Consultants, a body which succeeded in having non-governmental organizations recognized by the United Nations under the Economic and Social Council.

2.

I. DR. SHOTWELL'S PARTICIPATION AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE 1918-1919.

(1) He and Two Associates Organized The Inquiry.

Preparatory work on the peace settlement began a year before the Armistice of 1918, when Dr. Shotwell with two associates (David Hunter Miller and Walter Lippmann) organized "The Inquiry", a body composed of specialists in each of the main subjects to be covered by the Treaty. In this organization Dr. Shotwell was the editor of the texts and head of the Division of History. The studies covered not only diplomatic history but the background of the political, economic and social problems of the victors and vanquished which would be treated at the Peace Conference. For example, the first thirteen chapters of Dr. Shotwell's volume TURKEY AT THE STRAITS (1940) was the actual text of his memorandum to President Woodrow Wilson on the problem of the straits separating Europe from Asia, which is and will remain "an eternal challenge to statesmanship as long as international relations are built upon the politics of power."

(2) As Head of the Division of History of the American Delegation to Negotiate Peace, He was in Charge of Its Documentation.

At the Conference itself Dr. Shotwell was in charge of all of the documentary reference material for the American Delegation and secured the cooperation of the French and British Governments in providing background information on the political, economic and social problems under negotiation.

(3) As Member of International Labor Commission He Solved the Problem of the Participation of the United States in the I. L. O.

When at the first plenary session it was announced that the Peace Treaty would deal with international labor legislation, Colonel Edward M. House, as Wilson's chief adviser, turned to Dr. Shotwell to clarify this issue both for the American delegation and for American public

opinion in view of the fact that there had been no previous American experience in this field and because inclusion of labor legislation in such a treaty constituted an innovation in making treaties to close a war comparable to the inclusion of the prohibition of the slave trade at the Congress of Vienna a century earlier.

As labor legislation had never been a federal matter in the United States the Constitution of the International Labor Organization had to include provisions which would enable American participation without weakening the structure of the ILO. This was negotiated by Dr. Shotwell whose European colleagues recognized that without his service the ILO could not have been founded, since otherwise the United States would have refused to join. The fact that the ILO has lived through another world war and continues to perform outstanding service to the cause of social justice indicates the really outstanding nature of Professor Shotwell's original contribution in this field.

(4) As Member Organizing Committee for Washington International Labor Conference which Drafted Key Rules of Procedure.

By the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the first meeting of the International Labor Conference was held in Washington December 1919-January 1920. Dr. Shotwell was chairman of the committee which drafted the rules of procedure for this conference, basing them upon British and French parliamentary procedure and the proceedings of International Trade Union conferences. The importance of this draft was that it prevented the ILO from splitting up into separate unionist conferences and held it to lines which emphasized the common interest of all the varied elements, labor, capital and governments in the ILO.

These rules became the basis of the rules of procedure of the

(5) As Author and Negotiator of Article 312 of the Treaty of Versailles, He Protected the Social Security of the Inhabitants of German-ceded Areas

In the first draft of the Treaty of Versailles, as presented to the Germans there was no provision to safeguard the social security of the inhabitants of Alsace Lorraine, Silesia, and other territories taken from Germany. Germany, including these territories, had had a highly developed system of state insurance and Dr. Shotwell, discovering this lack in the Treaty, convened a meeting of the Commission on Labor Legislation which accepted his text for Article 312 of the Treaty of Versailles providing international guarantees for the people of the territories which had previously had German social insurance. This draft was incorporated unchanged in the final draft of the Treaty, and its ratification by the states to which these territories were ceded, provided the desired legal protection to the people so vitally concerned.

II. WORK ON EUROPEAN PEACE PLANS (1920-1939)

Dr. Shotwell's work during the Paris Peace Conference and his residence in Europe for six years thereafter while General Editor of the Carnegie Endowment's history of the war, brought him into close contact with statesmen, economists and men of affairs. As this was the period during which the United States was withdrawing to policies of isolation and especially from all official relations with the League of Nations. Dr. Shotwell, already recognized in Europe as a leader of the peace movement, was called in counsel by those who sought ways to strengthen the ties of peace by agreements which would heal the wounds left by war and prevent its recurrence. The first positive move came from Berlin in the offer of Chancellor Cuno - a proposal which later culminated in the Treaties of Locarno.

(1) His Relationship to the Cuno Peace Offer, 1922.

In Berlin, United States Ambassador Alanson Houghton, Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment, called in Dr. Shotwell to help him further his program for a thirty years' truce between Germany and France, with a further guarantee that war should never be entered into except by plebiscite. The new German Chancellor, Wilhelm Cuno, made the offer formally to the British and French Governments, whose representatives were in Paris.

To further this plan, Dr. Shotwell, at Houghton's request, returned to the United States and consulted with Elihu Root and Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, but both of them distrusted Germany's motives and refused to support Houghton.

Returning to Paris for the British-French conference, Dr. Shotwell explained the situation confidentially to Tom Jones, Secretary to Premier Bonar Law, who placed the proposal in the proper light for the conference between Bonar Law and Poincaré. But Hughes refusal to endorse Houghton led Bonar Law to back away from the German offer. Instead he endorsed Poincaré's March into the Ruhr.

Three years later, the substance of the Cuno offer was incorporated into the Treaty of Locarno, minus Houghton's idea of a plebiscite.

(2) His Contribution to the Protocol of Geneva, (1923-1924)

In May, 1923, Dr. Shotwell learned from Col. Requin, representative of the French General Staff on the Military Committee of the League of Nations, of his opposition and that of the representative of the British Admiralty to the efforts then being made to secure a basis for disarmament. This was the outstanding problem of the League of Nations in its early days, and was regarded as the test of its validity. The situation was serious. If the League were to fail in the field in which U. S. Secretary Hughes had apparently succeeded in the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference, it would be a major blow to its prestige.

Returning to the United States, Dr. Shotwell organized and became chairman of a committee on Security and Disarmament, composed of Generals Bliss and Harbord, Mr. David Hunter Miller, legal adviser to President Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference, and Dr. F. E. Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation, Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Technical Head of the American Delegation at the Conference, Professor Joseph Chamberlain of Columbia University, a distinguished international jurist, Dr. Henry Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation, and Dr. Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute for International Education.

After six months' work this committee drafted what was called the "American Plan for Security and Disarmament," which proposed a protocol to be added to the Covenant of the League of Nations making it an iron-clad commitment against aggressive war and defining aggression as a resort to war in violation of the given pledge to use pacific means in the settlement of disputes.

This document was made an official text of the League of Nations Assembly of 1924, paralleling the report of its own committee under Lord Cecil. Before the Assembly met, Dr. Shotwell, accompanied by General Bliss and Mr. Hunter Miller, secured the support of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and of the French Premier, M. Herriot, and worked with Paul Boncour, Eduard Benes and Nikolaos Politis, the real architects of the Protocol. In the opinion of Continental Europe, the passage of the Protocol was the high-water in the history of the League of Nations.

A new Conservative Government in Great Britain rejected the Protocol in December, 1924, however, on the ground that it limited Great Britain's freedom to act independently in time of crisis. The Continental reaction to this was that the British Conservatives were really turning away from the League of Nations itself. To meet this criticism,

Sir Austen Chamberlain turned to negotiations which led to the Treaties of Locarno.

(3) The Treaties of Locarno (1925) Embody in Article 5 Shotwell Committee's Test of Aggression.

Upon the rejection of the Geneva Protocol by the British Government, Dr. Shotwell, at that time working on the Carnegie Endowment's Economic and Social History of the (First) World War, reconvened the American Committee in New York and kept its members in touch with committees he was then creating in the Netherlands, Germany and France. There was no formal British committee, but a series of consultations was held in London with Lord Cecil and other members of the League of Nations Union and Dr. Shotwell's colleagues on the History of the War.

The French Committee of eleven members was headed by Arthur Fontaine and Albert Thomas, both of the International Labor Organization. The German Committee was the most important. Its head was Dr. Walter Simons, President of the Reich, and it included among its members ex-Chancellor Cuno, the Oberburgermeister of Cologne, Conrad Adenauer, his colleague General von Winterfeldt, of the Centrist Party, the jurist Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Dr. von Schubert, Permanent Head of the Foreign Office, and Dr. Gauss, the Foreign Office expert who went to London to negotiate the preliminaries for Locarno, taking recommendations of the Committee along. All of this was arranged by Dr. Shotwell during his stay in Germany and France. The result was registered in the text of the Treaties of Locarno, which were based partly upon the Cuno offer and partly upon the Geneva Protocol, drawing from it the definition of aggression of the American Committee (See Article 5 of Locarno.)

Thus the test of aggression as set forth by Dr. Shotwell's Committee became the international law of Europe.

- (4) His Draft Memorandum Became a Basic Document in Plans for Disarmament Conference.

In September, 1925, after Locarno, and prior to the League Assembly meeting, Dr. Shotwell drafted memorandum at request of three members of the Third Committee, Mr. Loudon (Holland), Mr. Lange (Norway) and Mr. Munck (Denmark), outlining scope and content of the Disarmament Conference. This memorandum was used as a basic document.

Returning to the United States, Dr. Shotwell continued to work on disarmament with General Bliss and Mr. David Hunter Miller for the Carnegie Endowment studies.

- (5) Briand-Kellogg Pact (1928) Originally Based on Dr. Shotwell's Conclusions as General Editor of the Economic and Social History of the (First) World War.

The origins of the Pact lay in the findings of this History. The conclusions reached by Dr. Shotwell as General Editor of that vast collection of studies on the nature of war were set forth in his inaugural lecture as Professor of International Relations in the Hochschule Fur Politik (Berlin) in March, 1927. This lecture was delivered in the presence of the Chancellor of the Reich and his Cabinet members, the heads of the Reichswehr, and of the Government of Prussia. The lecture was a frank denial of the theory of Clausewitz and Bismarck that war was the legitimate instrument of national policy because it was no longer possible to hold it to a given purpose owing to the changed nature of war itself under the conditions prescribed by modern science and industry. Although the successors of Bismarck expressed agreement with this theory, Dr. Shotwell decided that they were not in a position to secure the adherence to it by other Governments because of the lack of confidence that still continued from the war.

Dr. Shotwell therefore went to Geneva and to Paris to secure the backing of Albert Thomas and Arthur Fontaine to lay this proposition before M. Briand. The conference with M. Briand resulted in his letter to the American people proposing the renunciation of war as an instrument of

national policy along the lines previously explored in the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Treaties of Locarno.

In the United States Dr. Shotwell led a nation-wide campaign to force the reluctant State Department to negotiate with M. Briand. U. S. Secretary of State Kellogg, under the influence of Senator William E. Borah, changed the nature of the offer to a renunciation of all war, although he continued to insist upon the validity of fighting a war of defence. Dr. Shotwell attacked this confusion in a series of editorial articles in the New York Herald Tribune, but upon the signature of the Pact of Paris supported it while continuing to work for clarification along the lines of the original Briand offer of the renunciation of "war as an instrument of national policy."

(6) Harmonization of the Pact of Paris and the Covenant of the League of Nations Dealt With in Shotwell Book.

The adoption of the Pact would have called for a revision of Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations if the United States and the U. S. S. R. as members were to be associated with whatever measures would have to be taken in case of violation of the Pact. This problem was dealt with in Dr. Shotwell's book ON THE RIM OF THE ABYSS.

III. DR. SHOTWELL'S SERVICES DURING WORLD WAR II FOR THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Quite logically, the U. S. Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and his colleagues, drew upon Dr. Shotwell's scholarship and experience when the tide of battle began to turn in favor of the Allies, and a program needed to be developed for the structure of the international organization envisaged in the Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration for a United Nations organization. Dr. Shotwell became a member of five advisory committees set up by the State Department. His work on each of these deserves brief comment.

(1) As Member of the Committee on International Organization, under the chairmanship of Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles. This consisted of Dr. Shotwell, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Benhamin V. Cohen and Clark Eichelberger, and prepared the first draft of the United Nations Charter, subsequently presented for elaboration and negotiation at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

(2) As Member of Judicial Committee on the World Court - a committee of four, under the chairmanship of Mr. Greene Hackworth, legal advisor to the Secretary of State, and now a Judge of the International Court. The committee made the first draft of the Statute of the International Court, finally negotiated at San Francisco.

(3) As Member of the Committee on Security, composed of representatives of the U. S. Army and Navy under the chairmanship of Mr. Norman Davis, which was formed to consider proposals for post war security. These recommendations were designed to serve a dual purpose: (a) for incorporation in the projected international organizations and (b) to become a part of post war U. S. foreign policy.

(4) As Member of Liaison Committee with Congress - Under the chairmanship of Secretary of State Cordell Hull. This committee met weekly for almost a year with members of the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to lay before them the problems involved in the post war settlement and the treaties of peace.

(5) As Member of Committee on Cultural Relations, under the chairmanship of Vice-President, Henry A. Wallace. This was a war time creation, drawn primarily from academic circles along the lines of the League of Nations Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation. Its Plans were subsequently incorporated into the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO.)

11:

#### IV. HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE SUCCESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER CONFERENCE IN SAN FRANCISCO (1945)

Each of the five committees on which Dr. Shotwell served under appointment from U. S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull during World War II related importantly to some aspect of the projected world organizations which were to be set up as a part of the peace settlement with the Axis powers. It was logical, therefore, that the preliminary draft of the Charter of the United Nations prepared in the State Department should, after critical review at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, become the basis for that finally adopted at the San Francisco Conference.

At the Conference itself Dr. Shotwell played a very significant role.

(1) As Chairman of The Consultants, Dr. Shotwell headed representatives of 42 national organizations of the United States in the fields of industry, labor, agriculture, education, religion, and women's organizations. Never before in history have the representatives of non-governmental bodies performed a service as important or useful as that rendered by The Consultants at San Francisco. Experts in virtually every field were included in the group of which Dr. Shotwell was the Chairman. Throughout the Conference this body exercised a real influence upon the negotiations, especially in all those matters within the scope of the Economic and Social Council.

(2) As Chairman of a sub-committee of The Consultants, Dr. Shotwell, together with representatives of Commerce, Industry, Labor, Agriculture, and Education, succeeded in having Non-Governmental Organizations recognized in the Charter of the United Nations (See Article 71.) The contribution already made by these bodies to the work of the Economic and

Social Council in matters of human welfare and international understanding forms a not unimportant chapter in the brief history of the United Nations.

(3) The Consultants, under Dr. Shotwell's chairmanship, also helped to determine the nature of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It was especially due to their efforts that Education was recognized as one of the areas to be covered by it.

(4) In securing the adoption of the articles establishing the Trusteeship Council, Dr. Shotwell drafted a proposal drawing the distinction between the techniques for dealing with the problems of security and those of welfare in the affected territories, thus clarifying a situation in which serious obstacles to the trusteeship provisions had arisen.

(5) The insertion of the human welfare provision in the Charter (Article 55 - C) was largely due to its sponsorship by the Consultants who insisted upon a specific provision in the Charter rather than merely including human welfare in the generalized statement of the "Purposes and Principles" of the United Nations. In this work, Dr. Shotwell took a leading part. The result was the epochal action of the United Nations in the adoption by the Assembly of the Declaration of Human Rights.

SERVICES TO PEACE THROUGH  
ATTEMPTS TO REMOVE BARRIERS TO TRADE.

The aftermath of the first World War, in breaking down the age-old fabric of the European State System, resulted in an exaggerated nationalism which tended to build Chinese walls around every frontier and prevent even the normal recovery of economic life. This situation was especially serious in the territories that formerly composed the Hapsburg Monarchy. It was most dramatically evident in the fate of Austria. Professor Shotwell therefore began his work in this field by an Austrian economic study.

I. THE RIST REPORT WHICH DR. SHOTWELL INITIATED BECAME THE BASIS FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM FOR AUSTRIA.

When Mr. Herbert Hoover sought a grant of \$200,000 from the Carnegie Endowment to be used for Austrian relief, Professor Shotwell reached the conclusion that the money could be used for more permanent benefit of Austria if it were devoted to investigating the hidden resources of the Austrian economy. The Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment accepted Dr. Shotwell's recommendation that Professor Rist, later Vice-President of the Bank of France, be sent to Vienna to investigate these resources. Professor Rist's report was the initial study which led to the League of Nations Recovery program for Austria. (It should be noted that the program for Austria's financial recovery had been dealt with separately.)

II. DR. SHOTWELL'S RELATION TO THE CONFERENCE OF PORTO ROSE (1921).

This conference was convened in November, 1921, by the nations profiting from the dismemberment of the Hapsburg Monarchy. At the meeting agreements were worked out for lessening obstacles to trade and for erecting guarantees against economic nationalism in the Danubian area. Subsequent failure to ratify this Convention led to a joint effort of the

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the International Chamber of Commerce along lines developed by Dr. Shotwell and generously seconded by President Masaryk and Foreign Minister Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia, as well as by the Government of Austria. Once more, however, wartime antagonisms proved too strong for a general settlement, and a series of partial treaties resulted between the Succession States.

### III. COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY INTERALLIED WAR DEBT COMMITTEE.

The question of German reparations after World War I brought to the fore unsolved problems in interallied war debts, and especially of the position of the United States as a creditor nation. In December, 1926, after all efforts to solve this problem had failed, a proposal for a substantial reduction, amounting to cancellation, of the interallied debts to the United States was put forth by a small committee of economists and experts in international relations, of which Dr. Shotwell was a member. The Report of this committee had a definite effect upon American public opinion and upon action by the United States Government.

### IV. PARIS CONFERENCE OF 1936, UNDER THE JOINT SPONSORSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

Through the initiative and leadership of President Nicholas Murray Butler of the Carnegie Endowment and Mr. Thomas J. Watson of the International Chamber of Commerce, an international Conference was held at Paris in June, 1936, to stabilize currencies and improve the conditions of international trade. A committee of seventeen experts from various countries which prepared the materials for this conference under the chairmanship of Dr. Shotwell included such outstanding economists as Professors Ohlin, Sweden; Pasvally, United States; Rist, France; Predohl, Germany.

Approved For Release 2003/06/17 : CIA-RDP80R01731R003100190074-1

report on THE IMPROVEMENT OF COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS and after the Conference, Dr. Shotwell, encouraged by German industrialists and bankers, went to Germany to consult with the Foreign Office on the possibilities of practical action. By this time, however, Hitler dominated German policy, and he vetoed the whole project, although proposals for lessening the barriers to international trade had the backing of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht.

#### V. THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY.

Under the same joint auspices Dr. Shotwell, working closely with Mr. Thomas J. Watson, as President of the International Chamber of Commerce, organized a committee of American economists, including Dr. Basch of the International Fund, Dr. Bidwell of the Council on Foreign Relations, Dr. Taylor of the Stanford Food Institute, and Professor Condliffe of the University of California, formerly of the League of Nations. The monographs prepared by this committee were published in a volume entitled STUDIES IN WORLD TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT, copies of which were distributed to all members of the United States Congress.

#### VI. CONSULTANT TO NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, LABOR AND AGRICULTURE.

Professor Shotwell has had the unique opportunity of serving in an advisory capacity to the research and policymaking committees of national organizations as diverse as the following: The United States Chamber of Commerce; the National Association of Manufacturers; the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Farm Bureau Federation. The influence of these bodies is far-reaching, in their various fields, as will be evident from the following examples:

The United States Chamber of Commerce carried out a national poll in 1945 in support of the full participation of the United States in plans for enforcing peace by the United Nations. The result of this poll, showing the extent of public support for the enforcement of peace, had a definite effect upon the United States Congress, at a time when it was hesitating to accept such an international obligation.

In the field of labor, Dr. Shotwell's previous contribution to the formation of the ILO gave weight at this time to his advocacy of the United Nations.

In agriculture, the Western Policy Committee and similar organizations which Professor Shotwell supported were largely responsible for the maintenance of Secretary of State Cordell Hull's Reciprocal Trade Treaties.

## C.

SERVICES TO PEACE THROUGH THE  
CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

The death of Woodrow Wilson deprived the forces working for a new world order, based on peace and justice, of their recognized leader. Even in the Democratic Party in the United States, the courageous pronouncements of Newton D. Baker and John W. Davis on international issues were soon eclipsed by violent debates over domestic questions involving Governor Alfred E. Smith and his associates.

It was at this time that Professor Shotwell, as a result of his work during the Paris Peace Conference and thereafter, became in a very real sense the intellectual leader of the peace movement in the United States. As General Editor, he was just publishing the monumental 150 volume study of THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE (FIRST) WORLD WAR. The Conclusion reached by Professor Shotwell in this study, that modern war, utilizing the tools of mass production and of mass communications has uncontrollable consequences and can lead only to national suicide and world chaos, provided thoughtful men with a new approach to an age-old problem.

As pointed out below, this vast cooperative enterprise, conducted by Professor Shotwell with scientific caution and precision, with the aid of statesmen, historians, economists and political scientists of fifteen countries, constituted his first important project under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. For twenty-four years (1924-1948) Dr. Shotwell as Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment, had at hand a unique vehicle for his scholarship. The studies to which specific attention is now directed in this section, illustrate how superbly he utilized this opportunity. It is not surprising then when a vacancy occurred in the presidency of the Endowment in 1948, the trustees unanimously elected him to head the organization. He is now President Emeritus.

I. GENERAL EDITOR, 150 VOLUME "ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY  
OF THE (FIRST) WORLD WAR".

The appalling extent of the destruction of life and property in the opening months of World War I strengthened the moral conviction and purpose of the peace movement to find a way for ending the war and preventing a recurrence. This conviction led Elihu Root, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the trustees, to devote the resources of the Endowment to a scientific study of the cost and the nature of war under the conditions of modern industry. At Mr. Root's request, in December, 1914, Professor Shotwell prepared a highly original outline for such a study. There were no models to follow, as there never had been a scientific study of war as such. Actual work upon this study by the Endowment was delayed until after the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, when Dr. Shotwell, who was appointed General Editor, undertook to organize it along the lines he had previously planned. For the next six years he spent most of his time in Europe working with collaborators in fifteen countries.

In each country editorial boards were established composed of experts, most of whom had either held wartime government positions or were closely associated with wartime activities. The Chairmen of these national boards were:

Great Britain, Sir William Beveridge  
France, Professor Charles Gide  
Italy, Professor Luigi Einaudi  
Russia, Sir Paul Vinogradoff  
Germany, Dr. Carl Melchior  
Austria, Professor Friederick Weiser  
Hungary, Dr. Gustav Gratz  
Belgium, Professor H. Pirenne  
Norway and Denmark, Professor H. Westergaard  
Sweden, Professor Eli Heckscher  
The Netherlands, Professor H. B. Greven  
Poland, Professor M. Handelsmann  
Rumania, Dr. David Mitrany  
Greece, Professor A. Andreades  
Japan, Baron Y. Sakatani.

The text of the ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE (FIRST) WORLD WAR consists of 150 volumes in nine languages. In all, over 200 experts were engaged upon it, including 35 wartime cabinet ministers. It dealt with every phase of the impact of the war upon the peace time life of the nations involved, but omitted the purely military events, which were recorded in the official military histories of the different belligerents. Each national series of volumes concluded with a summary of the effects of the war on the country in question. For example, Professor Mendelssohn Bartholdy, a distinguished jurist, who was the efficient Executive Secretary of the German Editorial Board, wrote THE WAR IN GERMAN SOCIETY which, before the rise of Hitler to power, prophetically pointed to the moral as well as to the material effects of war upon German mentality. Professor Gide estimated that the cost of the war to France amounted to about one-half of all of the private fortunes of Frenchmen. The cost of the war to Austria-Hungary was established at about five times the national income. The cost to Great Britain was especially heavy because of the financial burden it had to bear. But, as the History pointed out, the total impact of the war could not be reckoned in any statistical categories.

The one final lesson which the History taught was that in the complexity of modern industrial life, war had undergone a revolution which made it no longer a controllable agency of national policy. Unjustified on the ground of necessity, resort to it henceforth would be an international crime. This conclusion, drawn from the war History, has been regarded by Professor Shotwell as his chief contribution to the cause of peace. He has stated his basic thesis on many occasions, among others in the lectures delivered before the Nobel Institute, in 1925. Especially important, however, was its development in his inaugural address as Carnegie Professor of International Relations at the Hochschule Für Politik in Berlin, in March, 1927. This Berlin address, as is noted elsewhere, had a direct bearing upon the

Briand-Kellogg Pact.

The distribution by the Carnegie Endowment of the volumes of the ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE (FIRST) WORLD WAR was in proportion to its magnitude. Almost 90,000 volumes were sent out for free distribution, most of them to libraries in all parts of the world. In addition to the free copies, other volumes were purchased at a total cost of approximately \$100,000.00.

II. DR. SHOTWELL PLANNED AND EDITED THE SERIES ENTITLED "THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE HISTORY AND DOCUMENTS."

Equally authoritative was the collection of volumes of THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE HISTORY AND DOCUMENTS, which Professor Shotwell planned and edited for the Carnegie Endowment. The bitter controversy which arose concerning the Treaty of Versailles and the other peace treaties made it necessary to have the records of the negotiations analyzed by unofficial but competent researchers. The result was embodied in this series of volumes, which covered exhaustively the following subjects: THE ORIGINS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION, two volumes, by members of the Commission which founded the ILO; REPARATION AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, two volumes, by Philip Burnett, based largely on the materials of the American negotiator, John Foster Dulles; GERMANY AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE by Dr. Almo Luchow, based on personal documentation of Chief Justice Simons and others at the Conference; HUNGARY AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE, by Professor Francis Deak, based largely on Hungarian materials; and ITALY AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE by Professor Albrecht-Carrie based in part on original material.

III. 25 VOLUME SURVEY OF CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

Dr. Shotwell's next important task for the Carnegie Endowment was in absolute contrast with his study of the history of war. It was a survey

of Canadian-American relations. No other two neighborly nations anywhere in the world have developed the techniques of peaceful living together on such a scale as Canada and the United States. The symbol of these century-long peaceful relations is the unarmed frontier of three thousand miles; but more important has been the technique of agreement between the two countries. And yet although the largest foreign trade of the United States is with Canada and one out of every seven Canadians had, at the opening of the twentieth century, become American citizens, there had never been any systematic survey of these important international relationships.

Dr. Shotwell, due to his Canadian birth, was in a privileged position to undertake the direction of this study, which was financed by both the Carnegie Endowment and the Carnegie Corporation. Under his direction four international conferences were held alternately in the United States and Canada attended by university professors and leading citizens. The last one was just on the outbreak of World War II. In addition to the published proceedings of these conferences, Dr. Shotwell directed the publication of twenty-five volumes covering the history of Canadian-American relationships from colonial times to the end of the nineteenth century and economic studies of the interplay of migration, industry, finance and trade. These volumes have made possible for the first time the study of Canadian-American relations in colleges and there are now courses on this subject in over a dozen universities.

#### IV. WORK WITH LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

As the result of a visit to Mexico in 1940, Professor Shotwell, in collaboration with the philosopher Alfonso Reyes, established relations with the Collegio de Mexico and the Fondo de Cultura Economica. These contacts have ripened with the years and resulted in the creation of a joint committee, under the leadership of the Mexican historian, Silvio V. Zavala, of United States and Latin-American historians.

Of special interest and importance was the study of the problems of the Rio Grande River Basin by Professor C. A. Timm, under Professor Shotwell's direction. This resulted in Professor Timm's call to the U. S. State Department to aid in drafting a treaty with Mexico, which ended a bitter, century-old dispute.

#### V. CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY

This committee was created by Professor Shotwell in December, 1945, and was composed of fifty of the leading scientists in nuclear physics, along with specialists in international law, politics and economics. The committee held four conferences and published two reports. The first dealt with the central problem of inspection in the preliminary phases of mining and processing radio-active materials. The conclusions of this report, entitled THE INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION OF RADIO-ACTIVE MINERAL PRODUCTION, were accepted by the United Nations Technical Committee.

The second report was A DRAFT CONVENTION ON ATOMIC WEAPONS AND THE CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY, which, while insisting on international inspection, did not accept the necessity of international ownership of radio-active materials and processes. The further exploration of this method of control has been halted by the impasse in the United Nations.

#### VI. RECORD OF DR. SHOTWELL'S WORK AS DIRECTOR OF THE DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY AND AS PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

In this short survey it is impossible to cover all the work of Dr. Shotwell as Director of the Division of Economics and History and as President of the Endowment. The record is embodied in his Annual Reports to the Trustees of the Endowment, copies of which are submitted herewith. These supply a fuller description of the activities noted above, and many other projects carried on under Dr. Shotwell's direction.

Each year's Report was prefaced by a statement of the outstanding problems confronting an endowment for international peace. These introductions furnish a guide to Dr. Shotwell's conception of the forces making for peace and of the steps necessary for strengthening them and embodying them in such an organization as the United Nations.

D.

SERVICES TO PEACE THROUGH  
UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS

Throughout this short outline of Professor Shotwell's life and work, emphasis is necessarily laid upon his contributions to the structure of international relations. But more important than the listing of the institutions with which he was associated is the fact that the policies he advocated have been justified by history. This is surely largely due to his training as a scholar. The caution of the historian was combined with the open mind of a philosopher. The extent of this combination of scholarship and constructive planning is indicated in this and the following sections.

I. THROUGH HIS TEACHING AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

Professor Shotwell's association with the faculty of Columbia University has covered thirty-three years. Appointed Lecturer on History in 1900, he became adjunct professor in 1905 and professor in 1908. In 1937, he was nominated to the chair of the Lord Bryce professorship on the History of International Relations, Professor Emeritus since 1942.

During these three decades he influenced the lives of thousands of students through classroom lectures, graduate seminars, research projects and private counselling on doctorate dissertations. He nourished the minds, fired the imaginations and galvanized the wills of hundreds of exceptional students who are today teachers of History, Political Science and International Affairs in universities and colleges throughout the United States and Canada. From his contagious enthusiasm and rich experience they, too, caught a vision of a world in which war would be outlawed for a regime of understanding based on economic and social justice.

II. THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION ON INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION.

This was the one organization of the League of Nations which was designed

to have no connection with the policies of government. Originally, its program was limited to the arts and sciences, the purely academic international relations. When, however, Dr. Shotwell became the American member of this body as Chairman of its National Committee in the United States, he succeeded in having its field of operation enlarged through a resolution of the assembly of the League of Nations, requesting the Organization On International Intellectual Cooperation to include the political and social sciences.

The result of this action was the creation of a semi-autonomous body, the International Studies Conference, which, with assistance from the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris, under the enlightened leadership of M. Bonne, held meetings bi-annually, the last of which was in the summer of 1939 in Bergen, Norway.

The American National Committee On International Intellectual Cooperation was organized by Dr. Shotwell, who remained its Chairman throughout its existence until the end of the League of Nations. The most important activities of this American Committee were in the field of education. It worked in close cooperation with the American Council on Education and with the National Education Association, and produced the first survey of international relations in the school curriculum together with a study of the organizations engaged in the furtherance of international understanding.

As Chairman of the American Committee Dr. Shotwell headed a delegation to the Inter-American Conference of Committees on Intellectual Cooperation held at Havana in 1941 attended by representatives of most South American states.

In 1937, Professor Shotwell, with the support of The Rockefeller Foundation, organized a conference on International Copyright which continued its work for two years, drafting a new copyright treaty in cooperation with the representatives of publishers, authors, musicians, motion picture and radio producers and other national interests. This draft was used as a

basis for negotiations in Inter-American conferences and its central features are now in force.

### III. THROUGH THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL.

As one of the group of American scholars who assisted in the formation of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1925, Professor Shotwell turned to the study of the two outstanding problems in East-West relationships at that time: the problems of Manchuria, and of the International Settlement at Shanghai. On the latter problem he secured the services of Dr. Edith Ware, who prepared the manual on the Shanghai International Settlement which became the handbook for American institutions abroad. In 1927 the increasing importance of Asiatic problems in American foreign policy led him to accept the position of Director of Research for the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. In this capacity he directed the program for the Conference of Hawaii in 1927 and that of Kyoto in 1929. The Kyoto Conference was the last effort to apply the technique of peaceful settlement to the Manchurian problem.

Throughout the next seven years, Dr. Shotwell continued to work on this problem in collaboration with Mr. Grover Clark, whose confidential Report to the Carnegie Endowment, on MANCHURIAN ECONOMIC RESOURCES, under the supervision of Baron Sakatani, and whose two volume A PLACE IN THE SUN and THE BALANCE SHEETS OF IMPERIALISM dealt with the problems of population movements, raw materials and colonization, with special reference to the relations between China and Japan.

From 1931 to 1935 Professor Shotwell was Director of the Division of International Relations of the Social Science Research Council. The organization of study in international relations was still in a primitive and unsettled condition. There had been few, if any, courses in this field in any American University prior to World War I. Initially linked with

international law, the study of international relations had had no proper orientation in economics or history. There were no studies on the nature of war or on the history of international organizations. Under Professor Shotwell's direction the field was surveyed and extensive plans were made for submission to the American academic world.

In this connection Professor Shotwell, in 1931, led a research expedition to Central and Eastern Europe, having as his chief collaborator Professor Lindsay Rogers of Columbia University. As a prelude to this survey, Professor Shotwell prepared an outline for an Institute of European Studies, similar to the Institute of Pacific Relations, but the Social Science Research Council itself was taken over by a new management which had no belief in the academic legitimacy of international relations, so the program of the proposed Institute of Europe was taken over by the International Studies Conference.

#### IV. THROUGH ORGANIZATIONS OF HISTORIANS.

As an historian, Professor Shotwell had always emphasized in his lectures and writings the importance of the discipline of criticism in the understanding of history, not as an antiquarian interest, but as a clarification of human motives and activities. Therefore, it was natural that immediately upon the entry of the United States into the first World War he became Chairman of the National Board for Historical Service, which was formed in Washington in May 1917 to study the historical background of the war and of the issues raised by it. In its directions to American historians, it insisted upon the maintenance of objectives, scientific standards, and the lessening of war hysteria: "Do not write anything which you would not want to read ten years from now."

In 1923, Dr. Shotwell was the American president of the World Conference of Historians which was held in Brussels. This was an effort to restore the connections in scholarship and research between the historians of the belligerent

nations which had been in evidence at prewar meetings of the Conference. But the wartime passions had not yet sufficiently subsided and there was a hot division of opinion on the question of readmitting the historians from the ex-enemy countries into the membership. To have continued excluding them would have resulted in increased emphasis upon nationalist antagonisms and would have caused the erection of two hostile organizations in Europe. As presiding officer, Professor Shotwell succeeded in overcoming this obstacle and secured a unanimous vote in favor of keeping the universal structure of the Conference. One of the most important results of this Conference was the creation of the Comite des Sciences Historiques of which Professor Shotwell was one of the founders. In subsequent years, this Committee has performed important services in strengthening the international outlook of European historians.

#### V. THROUGH THE UNION OF LEARNED ACADEMIES.

During the Paris Peace Conference, Professor Shotwell joined with Professor Haskins, Dean of the graduate faculties of Harvard University, to assist in the foundation of the International Union of Academies to restore and strengthen the international activities of the learned academies. In the United States, this resulted in the creation of the Council of Learned Societies, as the American counterpart of the National Academies of Europe. Professor Shotwell attended several meetings of the Union of Academies as American representative.

## E.

HIS WORK WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS  
FOR MOBILIZING PUBLIC OPINION

From his training as a historian and political scientist, Dr. Shotwell realized the inherent obstacles to international understanding which lay in the weight of past history and the strength of the economic self-sufficiency of the United States. The supreme task of the American people had been the conquest of a continent, an achievement so vast as to make all other aims seem secondary, especially as the surrounding oceans then supplied protecting distance from the rest of the world.

These facts dominating American policy until the first World War were too stubborn to yield to the Wilsonian ideals, especially as the wartime slogan "a war to end war" left only disillusionment. The peace forces in the United States, defeated by the refusal to join the League of Nations, became disunited and ineffective. It was this situation which brought out Dr. Shotwell's leadership in the peace movement. His unshaken courage and soundness of judgment - later justified by history - won increasing respect even from his opponents. A changed attitude toward the League of Nations and acceptance of membership in the International Labor Organization were due in large measure to his tireless energy and convincing eloquence in a nation-wide crusade.

Then, when mounting threats of a second world war led to the Neutrality Acts, designed to keep the United States out of "foreign wars," Dr. Shotwell joined with those who organized public opinion for their repeal, not only on the ground that the Allies were fighting the battle of freedom for the United States as well as for themselves, but also on the ground that the war presented a moral issue which no great nation could escape.

The education and mobilization of public opinion, which these activities supported, were carried out through all the varied channels of a democracy;

In the activities of organizations; in public meetings; in the use of radio and motion pictures and in writings.

The following partial list of organizations in which Dr. Shotwell worked for the furtherance of international understanding is limited to those which deal only with foreign affairs. In the inter-war years (1919 - 1941), however, the interest in these problems steadily mounted in most national organizations in adult education, business, labor, and community service. Reference to this wider scope in the changed outlook of the American people is made below. Here are listed only those bodies wholly devoted to international problems.

I. AS A TRUSTEE AND PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION (U. S. A.)

For eleven years, from 1924 to 1935, Dr. Shotwell served as a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Association. In 1935 he became President and held that office until 1939. In this connection he worked on projects designed to secure the adherence of the United States to the World Court, to the League of Nations, either in full membership or as associate member, and also membership in the International Labor Organization.

Political opposition to membership in the League of Nations had become so deeply rooted a popular prejudice that the two Senate resolutions upon which Professor Shotwell collaborated, by Senators Capper of Kansas and Pope of Idaho which attempted to build upon the Briand-Kellogg Pact, were never acted upon. Nevertheless, the nation-wide activities of the League of Nations Association prepared public opinion for the acceptance of the plans for the United Nations as they matured during World War II. In public meetings throughout the country and in its publications, it carried on effective education on international problems.

In February, 1945, the League of Nations Association reached the fulfillment of its purpose and became the American Association for the United Nations, with Dr. Shotwell and Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State,

31.  
as the two Honorary Presidents.

II. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION TO STUDY THE  
ORGANIZATION OF PEACE (1939-1950)

The years of work of the League of Nations Association made increasingly clear the need for an authoritative restatement of the aims of the American peace movement so that its strategy could be directed effectively upon the direction of American foreign policy. Dr. Shotwell, therefore, organized and was elected Chairman of a committee of 100 experts in international law, politics and the conduct of public affairs who met for monthly discussions of the outstanding issues of the day and for the preparation of publications which, by reason of their cautious yet courageous outlook, played an important part in the formation of American policy and public opinion during the critical years following the outbreak of World War II. The contribution of this body to the solution of the problems created by the war was recognized by the U. S. State Department and subsequently by the pertinent sections of the United Nations.

III. THROUGH THE AMERICAN UNION FOR CONCERTED  
PEACE EFFORTS

Throughout the years immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II as the ominous shadow of Japanese and Nazi aggression began to threaten international peace, there was a strong movement towards neutrality, especially in the Middle West. This resulted in a strengthening of the neutrality laws to prevent the involvement of the United States in foreign wars. Convinced that for the United States to remain neutral in the case of a criminal resort to war by an aggressor would make it particeps criminis in the crime of war, Professor Shotwell accepted the Honorary Presidency of a nation-wide organization for the revision of the neutrality laws to enable the United States to discriminate between aggressor and victim.

The work of this organization was then taken over by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies under the leadership of the Kansas publicist, William Allen White. Professor Shotwell was a member of the Policy Committee of this body which, according to U. S. Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, was largely influential in securing the passage of the Lend-Lease Act by the Congress of the United States.

F.

DR. SHOTWELL'S UNIQUE SERVICES THROUGH  
MOTION PICTURES AND RADIO

I. THROUGH MOTION PICTURES.

Professor Shotwell was the first, and is still one of the very few scholars, to recognize the power of the motion picture in molding public opinion, and to adapt his thought patterns and his "timing" to meet film production techniques and limitations. While others hesitated to accept this newest of the art forms - a mass medium which combines appeals to both eye and ear, he resolved to capitalize every opportunity to work with the organized industry as its responsible leaders sought to guide it into more constructive channels.

The following illustrations are pertinent:

(1) Exhibit of United States Documentaries at Paris World's Fair (1936).

Dr. Shotwell, as Chairman of the American Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, organized an exhibit of documentary films dealing with various aspects of life in the United States. Motion pictures were secured from the U. S. Government, leading industries, State Departments of Education, and from Hollywood. The exhibitions in Paris were largely attended. The results were impressive.

(2) As Historical Consultant for LAND OF LIBERTY.

This two hour cavalcade of the history of the United States was produced for the U. S. film industry by Cecil B. deMille for exhibition at the New York and San Francisco World's Fairs in 1939. Dr. Shotwell as historical consultant bridged gaps in existing historical footage with accurate and stimulating commentary and placed the nation's relatively brief history in historical perspective with an imaginative foreword and a tremendously inspiring epilogue.

This full length motion picture, made exclusively from excerpts taken from more than 100 previously produced Hollywood films, attracted so much attention as a result of its exhibition at the fairs in New York and San Francisco

that it was released theatrically in the United States and was shown in more than 10,000 commercial theatres. The profit of over a quarter of a million dollars accruing from its commercial release was donated by the U. S. Film industry to the Red Cross and other war service agencies.

Today LAND OF LIBERTY (on 16 mm film) is a most important audio-visual aid in the teaching of U. S. history in schools throughout the United States.

(3) As Author of Commentary for MADE IN THE U. S. A.

This documentary, designed to promote world peace through world trade, was distributed through chambers of commerce, International Business Machines Corporation, schools and service organizations as part of a program to stimulate interest in and support of the Reciprocal Trade Treaties to which the United States of America has been a signatory in recent years.

(4) Consultant in Production of THE WATCH TOWER OVER TOMORROW.

When the time and place for the United Nations Charter Conference was fixed for 1945 at San Francisco, U. S. Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius called upon the U. S. film industry to produce and distribute throughout the United States a motion picture designed to explain the policies and mechanisms of the United Nations to the public. Dr. Shotwell spent several weeks in Hollywood at the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studio working with the Hollywood director John Cromwell on THE WATCH TOWER OVER TOMORROW.

Following approval of the finished film by the U. S. Department of State, it was released to 15,000 U. S. motion picture theatres during the weeks prior to the opening of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. Through this motion picture Dr. Shotwell capitalized an extraordinary opportunity to prepare the minds of millions of Americans for acceptance and support of the United Nations Charter and its prompt and overwhelming ratification by the U. S. Senate.

## II. DR. SHOTWELL'S SERVICES THROUGH RADIO BROADCASTING

The vast size of the United States and the diverse interests of such large areas as New England, the Southern States, the Middle West and the Pacific Coast constitute unique difficulties in securing a consistently forward-looking foreign policy. It is therefore a fact of vital importance that the radio developed as an instrument for widening the outlook and interests of the American people at the very time when the United States was obliged to assume the responsibilities of a world power.

Nation-wide networks of the great broadcasting systems serve hundreds of stations scattered over different parts of the country, bringing not only the news, but critical discussions of it, to the isolated farms and ranches of the West as well as to the populous cities of the East. The broadcasting networks, conscious of a growing demand, especially by those without access to the great metropolitan daily newspapers, for authoritative interpretation of the unparalleled events then happening at home and abroad, turned many times to Dr. Shotwell to present the problems of war and peace in ways that everyone could understand. His success in this work of mass education strengthened his position as a leader of the peace movement. Some of the broadcasts which he planned were shared with members of the United States Congress, labor leaders, and spokesmen for industrial, educational, or women's national organizations. For example, as chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, he conducted, from January to May, 1940, a series of weekly broadcasts for the Columbia Broadcasting System over about 150 stations throughout the country. A similar series for fifteen weeks was carried coast to coast through the facilities of the National Broadcasting Company. These programs were planned so that student bodies in colleges throughout the United States debated the same subjects over the radio at the end of each week. He also joined in a series of foreign broadcasts

over the World Wide stations.

It is obviously impossible to describe these programs in detail. From the nature of radio broadcasting they were necessarily directed toward the solution of those problems which were most pressing at the time in the crises of war and peace.

G.

DR. SHOTWELL'S SERVICE THROUGH ADDRESSES  
AND LECTURES ON WAR AND PEACE.

For more than thirty years Dr. Shotwell as an effective public speaker has been influencing leaders of opinion at home and abroad through his addresses and lectures on the problems of war and peace. Before the radio microphone and the motion picture projector gave him a vast mass audience, he was using the platform and the lectern to reach select audiences within the sound of his voice.

His innate modesty, gracious informality and realistic approach quickly won any audience. His resonant voice, rich store of learning and obvious belief in the ultimate triumph of human dignity over brute force in the long struggle for social justice and peace, carried conviction and prompted whole-hearted enlistment in this great cause.

In hundreds of addresses throughout Canada, the United States and other lands, he has spoken to scholars, public officials, civic leaders and other molders of opinion on a variety of subjects.

In the following list of addresses and lectures, only those are included which have to do with international relations and the problems of peace. In most cases the titles of the lectures indicate the nature of the context.

I. ADDRESSES AND LECTURES BEFORE ACADEMIES AND  
LEARNED SOCIETIES.

Institut de France, Académie des Sciences Morale et Politiques  
(formal session attended by the President of France)

Académie Royale des Science, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts  
de Belgique

British Academy

Royal Historical Society

American Historical Association, Washington

Academy of Political Science, New York

Academy of Social and Political Science, Philadelphia

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia

American Physical Society, New York

Institutul Social Roman, Bucharest

## II. ADDRESSES AND LECTURES AT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

### (1) 1919-1929.

University of Paris "The Social History of the World War"

Columbia University, New York, Phi Beta Kappa address, "The Student and the Citizen."

University of Oslo, Studentersamfundet, "The Economic and Social Effects of the World War."

University of Copenhagen, "Post-War Plans for Peace."

High School of Commerce, Stockholm, two lectures on "Economic Consequences of the War."

Williams College, Massachusetts, Institute of Politics, "The Plans for Disarmament Before the League of Nations."

Connecticut State College, New London, "The Geneva Protocol."

Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., "The Geneva Protocol."

Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, A series of six lectures on "The Historical Bases of Peace."

University of Virginia, Charlottesville, three lectures on "Peace and Security."

Columbia University, General Assembly, "The Strategy of Peace."

Stanford University, California, Commencement address, "History and the Problems of Peace."

The University of Belgrade "The Geneva Protocol and the Treaties of Locarno."

The University of Cluj, Rumania, "The Pacific Settlement of Disputes."

Rutgers University, New Jersey State Conference of Teachers, "The League of Nations and the College Curriculum."

The University of Toronto, Commencement address, "Problems in Foreign Relations."

Hochschule für Politik, Berlin, "Are We at a Turning Point in History?"

Hamburg Institut für Auswärtige Politik, "A Turning point in History?"

University of Bonn, "Are We at a Turning Point in History?"

Columbia University, Commemoration Service,

Barnard College, New York, Assembly, "Problems of Peace."

McGill University, Montreal, Canada, Convocation address, "The British Empire and International Organization."

University of Denver, Colorado, "The Nature of International Relations."

University of Kentucky, Frankfort, Ky., "The Teaching of International Relations."

Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, a series of three lectures on international relations.

Yale University, New Haven, Conn., "Neutrality as a Moral Problem."

Brown University, Providence, R. I., "The League of Nations."

Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., "American Foreign Policy."

Smith College, Northampton, Mass., "Peace and Freedom."

Hunter College, New York, Assembly, "American Foreign Relations."

Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, "Mistaken Ideas on Neutrality."

University of Georgia, Athens, Institute of Public Affairs, four lectures on American Foreign Policy.

Peking National University, China, "The Problems of the Pacific."

Nankai University, T'ientsin, China, "The Nature of Modern Civilization."

Yenching University, Peip'ing, China

Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan

University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., "The Kyoto Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations".

(2) 1930 - 1950.

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, three lectures on the history of American Foreign Policy.

University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., Institute on International Relations, "The Nature of War."

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., "History as a Guide."

University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana, "International Law."

De Pauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, "The Politics of Peace."

Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, "The History of the World War."

The University of Iowa, Ames, Iowa, "The Interest of the Mid-West in Foreign Policy."

University of Denver, "The Problems of War and Peace."

University of Texas, Austin, Texas, "American Foreign Policy."

Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan, "The Fallacies of Neutrality."

University of Manitoba, Canada, "North American Neighbors."

Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y., "History and International Relations."

Hunter College, New York, "Human Rights."

University of Maine, Orono, Maine, "The Organization of Peace."

University of Western Ontario, "Canadian-American Relations."

Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, "Canadian-American Relations."

St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. "The Outlook of a Historian."

University of Minnesota, General Convocation, Minneapolis, Minn., "The Organization of Peace."

Carleton College, Iowa, The Frank B. Kellogg Foundation, "The Outlawry of War Defined."

Reed College, Portland, Oregon, "Disarmament and Security."

Pomona College, Pomona, California, "The American Peace Movement."

College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., "The Constitution and the Guarantee of Freedom."

New School for Social Research, New York, "A Critical View of Foreign Policy."

Dalhousie College, Nova Scotia, New York Alumni, Canadian-American Relations."

University of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio, Conference on international relations, "The Diplomacy of Peace."

College of the City of New York, Centennial address, "History and International Relations."

III. ADDRESSES AND LECTURES BEFORE INSTITUTES AND ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Norske Nobelinstitut, Oslo (1923)

Swedish American Foundation, Stockholm

Executive Committee of the Labour Party, London, England

Workers Education Bureau, Philadelphia

Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago

World Alliance for Peace and Friendship Through the Churches, five addresses at Annual Conferences.

Foreign Policy Association, New York

Foreign Policy Association, Boston, Mass.

Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, Washington, four Annual Conferences.

National Republican Club, New York

National Convention of the League of Women Voters, three addresses

National Convention of the Association of University Women

Conference of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, Springfield, Mass.

League of Nations Association, eight Annual Conferences

Annapolis Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, General Assembly

Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island

Honolulu Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, T. H.

U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington

Cincinnati Peace League, Cincinnati, Ohio

Rochester City Club, Rochester, New York

National Civic Federation, New York City

Unitarian Convention, Boston, Mass.

Chautauqua Institute, Chautauqua, New York, a course of ten lectures on international affairs.